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ABSTRACT

Thousands of workers have been dislocated from jobs in the textile and apparel industries as a result of recessions and structural changes in the economy. Because of the large concentrations of female workers in these industries, women have been particularly vulnerable to dislocation. This study examined job dislocation and factors that affect women's reemployment or retraining for other employment. Subjects were women (N=120) who had been dislocated from textile or apparel manufacturing plants and were unemployed, reemployed, or enrolled in classroom-based job training at a county vocational technical institute in 1985 and 1986. Subjects were interviewed face-to-face or completed questionnaires. Results showed that the job training group was significantly different from the unemployed and employed groups, and that variables related to the stage of life cycle were primarily responsible for these differences. The job training group was younger and had more children at home. These findings suggest that younger women who had a number of years remaining in the job market and also faced the economic demands associated with earlier stages of the family life cycle, were more likely to believe that it was worthwhile to retrain for future jobs, and that older women were more likely to believe that retraining for their remaining years in the job market was of little value. (ABL)

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WOMEN AND PLANT CLOSINGS: UNEMPLOYMENT,
REEMPLOYMENT, AND JOB TRAINING ENROLLMENT FOLLOWING DISLOCATION

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Women and Plant Closings: Unemployment,
Reemployment, and Job Training Enrollment Following Dislocation

Women's labor force participation and economic contributions to family incomes have increased dramatically in the last two decades. Labor force participation rates for all women age 20 and over were 43% in 1970, 47% in 1975, and 55% in 1985. The largest increases in labor force participation have been among married mothers of preschool children (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1985).

There has also been an increase in the proportion of family income women contribute. For example, in 1967 working wives contributed 12.5% of family income, compared to 23.4% in 1979 (Danzinger & Gottschalk, 1985). Specifically, married white women contributed 18.0% in 1984; married black women contributed 31.1% (Danzinger & Gottschalk, 1985).

Women's earnings are preventing many families from living below the poverty level. In 1984 the income of dual-worker two-parent families was 23.4% higher and the poverty rate was 35% lower than families where only the husband was employed (Danzinger & Gottschalk, 1985). For female-headed households, white women provided 57.3% of family income and black women provided 55.6% of family income (Danzinger & Gottschalk, 1985).

In spite of the attention given to women's employment and earnings, little has been paid to women's unemployment and loss of income (Liem & Rayman, 1982). Depression-era studies, which provided the foundation for later research, were focused almost exclusively on the male breadwinner; women were studied primarily as wives who had to cope with the effects of husbands' unemployment (Jahoda, Lazarsfeld, & Zeisel, 1971; Kamoravsky, 1940). In more recent research, women have often been absorbed into study samples or excluded

altogether, thereby prohibiting the disaggregation or comparison of data by sex (Kasl & Cobb, 1979; Marshall, 1984; Targ, 1983).

The study of women's unemployment as a consequence of plant closings, however, should be of particular importance because of increases in women's employment in manufacturing and their disproportionate representation among the jobless. For example, female employment in U.S. manufacturing increased by 37% between 1960 to 1983. By 1983 women made up one-third of the manufacturing labor force, and 41.6% of them held jobs as operators, fabricators, and laborers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1985). Women employed in manufacturing, however, were more likely than men to be unemployed. In 1984, the unemployment rate for men in manufacturing was 6.6%, compared to 9.4% for women (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1985). In addition, women in manufacturing have been more likely than men to suffer permanent job loss as a result of plant closings and have had more difficulty locating new jobs (Flaim & Sehgal, 1985.)

Women employed in traditional women's industries have been particularly affected by recent declines. In textile and apparel industries, for example, where women make up 51% and 80% of the labor force, respectively (American Textile Manufacturer's Institute, 1984; Southeast Women's Employment Coalition, 1986), female unemployment has exceeded male unemployment. In 1985, the unemployment rate for males employed in textile mill products was 7.8%, compared to 12.1% for females. In the same year, the unemployment rate for males employed in apparel industries was 7.6%, compared to 12.5% for females (U.S. Department of Labor, 1986).

Large proportions of the textile and apparel labor force are concentrated in the South, (three-fourths of textile workers and one-third of apparel workers) and two-thirds of these workers are women (Southeast Women's

Employment Coalition, 1986). Consequently, women's dislocation from these industries is relevant not only to families, but to the regional economy and to service delivery and program development related to unemployed populations. There is however, scanty research on either employed or unemployed nonmetropolitan and southern women, particularly in rural areas (Bokemeir & Tickamyer, 1985; Walters & McHenry, 1985).

Therefore, this study focused on factors that affected women's adjustment to job loss, and their subsequent labor market activity following dislocation from textile and apparel plants in Georgia. The primary purpose was to identify those factors which discriminated between and described women by their subsequent labor force activity, i.e., reemployment, unemployment, or job training enrollment.

A secondary purpose was to examine the usefulness of a proposed model for the study of adjustment to job loss and subsequent labor force activity (see Figure 1). The literature on individual job displacement has been very "close-to-the-data" (Strange, 1977) or built on the male experience, without substantiated reason to assume that the female experience will be identical (Martin & Wallace, 1984; Mick, 1975). George (1980; 1982) and House (1974), however, have developed conceptual models of role transitions which may be appropriate for the study of nonnormative events, such as unemployment. For example, when a role transition occurs people work to maintain their identities, and the perception of their identity influences the selection of subsequent roles. As individuals experience, assess, and interpret the meanings of new experiences, however, identity may change (George, 1980).

In the short run the response to the role transition is primarily influenced by (a) personal resources, including financial resources, health, social support, and education; and (b) perceptions of stress. Responses may

be physical, psychological, or behavioral, and these are considered to constitute coping (George, 1980; House, 1974). The final outcome is adaptation.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Job Mobility Following Dislocation

Compared to the voluminous literature on plant closings and job mobility, information about women's job dislocation and reemployment has been scarce (Targ, 1983). Available studies, however, have indicated (a) women are unemployed for longer periods of time and are less likely than men to be reemployed; (b) the detrimental impact of age is greater for women than for men, and older women experience the longest periods of unemployment; and (c) women are more likely to experience greater deterioration in wage and skill levels, if reemployed (DeVino, 1966; de Vyver, 1940; Flaim & Sehgal, 1985; Lipsky, 1969-1970; Miernyk, 1955; Palmer, 1941; Stern, 1971; U.S. Congress, 1986). (For a summary of the job mobility literature, see Gordus, Jarley, & Ferman, 1981.)

Other studies have found that demographic and household variables may influence reemployment. For example, black and white women have been found to have longer layoffs and higher proportions of job losses than black or white men (Remy & Sawers, 1984). Black women are less likely than other groups to initiate a formal job search and were more likely to rely on personal contacts (Campbell & Rosenfeld, 1981). Divorced or separated women place greater importance on work than single or married women, and married women are more likely to delay looking for work than single and divorced/separated women (Martin & Wallace, 1984).

In addition, in a study of the impact of the 1975 recession on families with children, Moen (1979) found family headship, life cycle stage, and race

were important descriptors of those who were vulnerable to extended unemployment. Single parent women and black family heads were more likely than male headed and white families to experience extended unemployment. A higher proportion of black female family heads were unemployed 15 weeks or more than other sex/race categories (p. 566).

Two parent households were more prone to extended male unemployment during early childrearing but this diminished during later stages of life. Women heads of households were more likely to experience extended unemployment during both early and later childrearing: Almost two-thirds (63.2%) of women with preteens and more than two-thirds (68.7%) of women with children 13 through 18 were unemployed for 15 or more weeks. Also, women with less than a high school education were more likely than more educated women to experience extended unemployment. Women heads of smaller households (one or two children) were more likely to be unemployed for 15 or more weeks, while the number of children in male-head families was not related to duration of unemployment (Moen, 1979).

In a multivariate analysis of the effect of these variables on duration of unemployment, the largest effect was the county unemployment rate followed by the sex of the breadwinner, with female family heads "far more likely than male family heads to be unemployed 15 weeks or more" (Moen, 1979, p. 569). There was a "slight difference" by life cycle stage, with breadwinners of young families (youngest child under 6) the most susceptible to longer unemployment (Moen, 1979, p. 569). These findings clearly indicate that for women, life cycle and household-level variables, as well as demographic characteristics, affect job mobility.

In addition to the demographic and household factors related to unemployment, there are personal aspects of job dislocation. For example,

many women in Great Britain reported deterioration in their social lives and symptoms of psychological distress, including loneliness and depression. Married women, however, reported substantially less social contact after the lay-off than single or divorced/separated/widowed women. Temporarily retired and part-time workers were most likely to report feelings of stress (Martin & Wallace, 1984).

In a study of over 300 displaced male and female manufacturing workers, Perrucci, Perrucci, Targ, and Targ (1985) found that 8 months after dislocation women and men were similar in their financial and psychological adjustments to displacement. Men and women differed, however, in the following ways: (a) strain in family relationships (men were more likely than women to report deterioration in their relationships with family other than spouse or children); (b) mental health (men were more likely to report an increase in depression, although women's depression was higher); (c) worker consciousness (women were more likely to express confidence in American institutions); and (d) social integration (women were less optimistic about finding a job). There was some variation, however, within this group: Those unemployed workers who had suffered less economic hardship, had more social support, and had a greater sense of mastery were less depressed. Generally, when compared to a group of continuously employed workers, the unemployed group expressed greater economic distress, loss of control over their fate, depression, and lack of optimism about their future.

The impact of job dislocation, however, is not always entirely negative. This was evident in Martin and Wallace's (1984) study, where they found almost two-thirds of all women mentioned at least one advantage to being unemployed. In addition, previous studies of dislocated male workers have indicated that psychological distress is not a predetermined consequence of job loss and that

intervening variables such as social support are influential in determining a positive adjustment to unemployment (Kasl & Cobb, 1979).

In summary, thousands of workers have been dislocated from jobs in the textile and apparel industries as a result of recessions and structural changes in the economy. Because of the large concentrations of female workers in these industries, women have been particularly vulnerable to dislocation. These changes suggest there is a need for additional information about job dislocation and factors that affect women's reemployment or retraining for other employment.

METHOD

Data Collection Procedures

This study was conducted in two communities in western Georgia during the spring and summer of 1987. Seventy-two percent of the total sample were rural and 28% were urban. Data were collected from women (N=120) who had been dislocated from textile or apparel manufacturing plants and were unemployed, reemployed, or enrolled in classroom-based job training at a county vocational technical institute in 1985 and 1986. The majority of the sample (93%) had been dislocated when a major national apparel manufacturer closed two plants. Most study participants were located through a snowball sampling technique.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted for 86% of all surveys of the unemployed and reemployed groups. Interviews took place in participants' homes, at work sites, or in public settings. Questionnaires were left with individuals who were willing to complete the questionnaire but could not schedule an interview (14% of the total sample) and were later collected by the researcher or returned by mail. The procedure for the job training sample was somewhat different. Because there was no classroom job training program in the rural county, the survey was administered in a group setting to

enrollees in a classroom training program in an adjacent urban county. (Students were sponsored by the Job Training Partnership Act, or JTPA Program.)

The total response rate for completed contacts was 86%. At the time the data were collected, 32% of the final sample were unemployed, 47% were employed, and 21% were enrolled in job training. (See Table 1 for a description of the sample.)

One-way ANOVAs and chi square statistics were performed to ascertain differences between groups on demographic variables. Only the variable, Age, revealed significant differences between groups ($p < .008$). The Scheffe post hoc test of differences indicated that the training group was younger than both the unemployed and employed groups. There were no significant differences between groups for marital status, number of children living at home, race, education, age of youngest children at home, or socioeconomic status.

Instrumentation

The survey questionnaire included measures of a range of economic, demographic, and psychosocial variables. These were original or modified versions of existing instruments, or scales created for the purpose of the study. Measures included the following: standard demographic characteristics; psychological characteristics (Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman, & Mullan, 1981; Warr, 1978); economic distress and resources (Pearlin, Menaghan, Liebermann, & Mullan, 1981; Perrucci, Perrucci, Targ, & Targ, 1985); social support (Perrucci, Perrucci, Targ, & Targ, 1985; Kessler & Essex, 1982; Vinokur & Caplan, in press); perceived stress (Nevill & D'Amico, 1973); perceived instrumentality (Vinokur & Caplan, in press); health (Perrucci, Perrucci, Targ & Targ, 1985); and questions developed specifically to tap information about unemployment and enrollment in job training. The question-

naire also included open-ended questions regarding reaction to the announcement of the plant closing, events that occurred in the few months thereafter and up until the time the survey was conducted and corresponding emotions and activities. The survey questionnaire was pretested by a panel of experts for face and construct validity and by three people who were enrolled in job training programs for clarity and time and ease of completion.

Data Analysis

Discriminant analysis was used to determine the linear combination of variables that maximally differentiated the study groups (Tatsuoka, 1970). Classifying variables were grouped into the following discriminant functions: economics, demographic characteristics, work, psychological characteristics, stress, social support, and health, and separate stepwise discriminant analyses were conducted. Separation of variables into these conceptual groups was based on the theoretical perspective and previous research, and was used to facilitate substantive interpretation, which otherwise might well have been a "wasted effort" (Huberty, 1975, p. 553).

Groups were equalized by randomly omitting the necessary number of cases, which relieved the researcher from the responsibility of worrying about violating the assumption of covariance. This resulted in a total N of 80 for (25 in the training group, 27 in the employed group and 28 in the unemployed group). In the discriminant analysis, if a missing value is observed for any function variable the entire case is omitted; therefore, group mean scores were substituted for missing values.

The three-group analyses yielded two discriminant functions for each significant function, and these were interpreted similar to factors in factor analyses. The highest absolute coefficient weights of the larger function

were interpreted as exerting the strongest influence on the meaning of the "factor" (Walters, 1978, p. 4).

In addition to the LDF coefficients the following statistics were used to interpret the discriminant analysis: (a) Wilks' Lambda coefficient, chi square and chi square probability level; (b) an estimate of explained variance, the multivariate correlation squared (w_{mult}^2); and (c) an estimate of the magnitude of the effect in the general population, or shrinkage formula (w_{corr}^2). In addition, analyses included the efficiency of the classification procedure, which was based on the percent of cases actually assigned to the correct group compared with percent of cases that could have been correctly assigned based on chance alone (Huberty, 1975). In the three-group analyses, 33% of the cases were expected to be correctly classified.

Group centroids were plotted on a graph to determine and present a visual representation of the similarities and differences between groups. Group means and standard deviations were then examined to provide some substantive interpretation of the source of differences between the groups on each function (for discussions of procedures for more than two groups see Tatsuoka, 1970, and Walters, 1978).

RESULTS

Six of the seven discriminant functions were significant: economics, demographic characteristics, work, social support, stress, and health. Only the psychological characteristics function was not significant. Data for each of the functions are presented in Table 2.

The functions were most effective at classifying the job training group, i.e., correctly classifying from 60% to 76% of that group (see Table 3). In addition, in general, the functions were effective at classifying the three groups. The health function, however, was better at classifying the

unemployed than the other two groups. For the employed (26%) and job training (32%) groups this classification was less successful than what would be expected by chance.

Knowing to which employment status group women belonged did a fairly good job of explaining the variance (w_{mult}^2) in four classifying functions. The grouping variables explained 30% of the variance in economics-related classifying variables, 22% of the variance in demographic variables, 27% of the variance in social support variables, and 25% of the variance in stress variables. In addition, employment status group explained 13% of the variance in work-related variables. Only 5% of the variance in health-related variables was explained by knowing to which group women belonged.

When the shrinkage formula (w_{corr}^2) was applied to estimate the variance that might have been accounted for in the population, social support and stress variables continued to hold up well, shrinking to 23% and 19%, respectively. The variance explained in the other classifying variables was reduced considerably when the shrinkage formula was applied. For the economics function, the explained variance that might have been accounted for in the population shrank from 30% to 10% and for demographic characteristics, from 27% to 2%. Explained variance in work-related variables was reduced from 13% to 4% and, for health variables, to less than zero.

The group centroid values for significant functions were plotted linearly to construct a visual representation of group differences on functions and to facilitate interpretation (Figure 2). Variable means and standard deviations were then used to identify the source of differences between groups.

The training group was clearly the driving force behind three functions: economics, demographic characteristics, and social support. On the income function, the centroid function coefficient was -0.85 for the training group

compared to 0.31 for the unemployed and 0.47 for the employed. The variables, Income in 1986 and Financial Distress, primarily accounted for these differences. The training group had higher mean yearly incomes in 1986 (they were dislocated in September of that year) suggesting that they were able to purchase fewer household items at the time they completed the survey, about eight months after dislocation.

For the demographic characteristics function, the centroid function coefficients were 0.68 for the training group and 0.36 and 0.38 for the unemployed and employed (respectively). Means and standard deviations indicated that age and number of children living at home primarily accounted for these differences. The training group was considerably younger than the other groups and had more children living at home.

For the social support function, the centroid function coefficients were -0.84 for the training group, compared to 0.24 for the unemployed and 0.54 for the employed. Means and standard deviations for the training group were lower for the intimate support variable. Means for the social integration variable were higher for the training group, although standard deviations were also higher, indicating variability.

The employed group was distinctly different on only one function, health. The group centroid function coefficient was 0.39 compared to 0.15 and 0.24 for the unemployed and training groups (respectively). The variable that appeared to be responsible was health change, which rated deterioration or improvement in health in the last two years. The employed group's mean scores were toward the "worse health" end of the scale and standard deviations were smaller, while the training and unemployed group mean scores were toward the "improved health" end of the scale and standard deviations were larger.

The unemployed group was different from the other two groups on two functions, stress and work. The centroid coefficients for the stress function were -0.73 for the unemployed, 0.16 for the employed and 0.64 for the training group. Group means and standard deviations indicated that Family Problems with Unemployment and Role Strain were considerably lower for the unemployed group. The group centroid coefficients for the work function were -0.50 for the unemployed and 0.22 and 0.32 for the employed and training groups, respectively. Means indicated that the unemployed group had worked more years at the plant, were less likely to believe they would be able to find a job, and placed a lower value on the importance of work in their lives. Standard deviations indicated some variability on these variables for the employed group.

The greatest differences between groups were between the training group and (a) the unemployed group on the stress function, and (b) the employed group on the social support function. On the whole, the training group differed more from the employed group than from the unemployed group.

DISCUSSION

The present study demonstrated that the job training group was significantly different from the unemployed and employed groups, and that variables related to the stage of the life cycle were primarily responsible for these differences. In particular, the job training group was younger and had more children at home. These findings suggest that younger women who had a number of years remaining in the job market and also faced the economic demands associated with earlier stages of the family life cycle, were more likely to believe that it was worthwhile to retrain for future jobs, and that older women were more likely to believe that retraining for remaining years in the job market was of little value.

Factors related to life cycle stage may also account for group differences on the economics function. For instance, greater financial problems among job training enrollees may be explained by the additional impact of job loss on existing financial strains associated with younger life cycle stage, such as fewer savings, more outstanding debts, and the expense of purchasing clothing, transportation, and entertainment for children and adolescents.

For the most part, the job training group was still living on unemployment compensation/TRA benefits and/or spouse's income, and had not found new jobs or made financial adjustments that were necessary after extended periods of unemployment. The costs of delaying work to attend school and the actual costs of enrollment (transportation, child care, books, etc.) may have created additional financial strains.

Interesting group differences appeared in the social support function, for which the strongest variable in the linear combination was Intimate Support. The employed and unemployed groups reported higher means and lower standard deviations on the measure of support from their spouse or a close friend than did the job training group.

The job training group may have perceived less support from spouses in managing the strains involved in attending classes while maintaining family responsibilities. They may have also perceived little empathy from their spouse for the difficulty of combining these activities, or little support for their enrollment in school or their future aspirations. Unfortunately, because baseline data were not collected, it was not possible to determine whether lower intimacy scores existed prior to job training and were part of the motivation to seek training (i.e., whether women were distancing themselves from their marriages), or whether lower intimacy was a consequence of strains created by job training enrollment.

The second social support variable that contributed to the linear combination was Social Integration. While the job training group reported higher means, the large standard deviation pointed to considerable variability in this group. An examination of the frequency distribution indicated the training group was concentrated in the upper one-third range of the scale (44%). In addition, 76% of the job training group were in the upper two-thirds of the scale, compared to 63% and 65% of the employed and unemployed groups (respectively). A larger proportion of the employed group scored on the lower end of the social integration scale, perhaps because work and family demands on their time prohibited participation in community activities or visits with friends. Chi square tests of differences between groups were not significant, however.

To summarize, the job training group was identifiably different from the other two groups on three functions. These three functions, economics, demographic characteristics, and social support, also performed well in estimates of variance explained by employment status, (30%, 22% and 27%, respectively, of the variance explained). The functions did a good job of classifying the three groups but were particularly effective with the job training group (76%, 76%, and 64%, respectively).

Unemployed Group: Work and Stress

Group centroid plots of significant functions indicated that the unemployed group was responsible for differences between groups on the work and stress functions. Although the strongest contributing variable, Years Worked at the Plant, was associated with the unemployed group, a strong and highly significant correlation with age ($r = 0.61$; $p < .0001$) indicated the variable may have been a proxy for age.

More revealing were two other job-related variables, Perceived Instrumentality, i.e., the belief that one would be able to find a job, and Value of Work. An examination of means and standard deviations indicated that the Perceived Instrumentality variable accounted for more of the group differences: The unemployed group rated their employability considerably lower than the training group.

For the variable, Value of Work, differences between the employed and training groups were small, suggesting that these groups were similar in ratings of the importance of work. The mean for the unemployed group was considerably lower, however. One interpretation would be attribute this finding to a lack of motivation among unemployed women and imply that this trait precipitated unemployment. The context in which these evaluations were made, however, suggests an alternative interpretation. An unfavorable job market and prospects of continued, lengthy unemployment may have led unemployed women to modify their perceptions of the Value of Work to reduce the dissonance between their evaluation and the realities of the job market. Thus, while at the time of the study the variable could discriminate between groups, this may have been the outcome of a gradual process in which unemployed women assessed their financial circumstances, realistically appraised the prospects of employment, and subsequently adjusted their evaluations of the importance of work in their lives. On the other hand, however, the fundamental difference may be attributed to financial needs associated with the expense of rearing children versus maintaining smaller households of individuals nearing retirement, as previously discussed.

For the stress function, the strongest contributors were the variables, Role Strain and Family Problems with Unemployment. The unemployed group experienced less Role Strain and fewer Family-related Problems with

Unemployment and was more homogeneous on these variables, as indicated by lower means and standard deviations. The small correlations between Role Strain and Family Problems ($r = 0.15$ for the unemployed) suggested that these variables were operating independently.

Although the Family Problems variable may be explained by the relative financial security of the unemployed group, the Role Strain variable may be more complex. Previous work on dislocated women (Martin and Wallace, 1984) has suggested that some favorable outcomes of unemployment may result from increased time at home and with family, particularly if family members prefer the woman to be at home. In the present study, supplemental qualitative data indicated that women found one benefit of unemployment was increased time with family members and its emotional rewards, and also increased time for various household responsibilities.

This inclination to explain unemployed women's reduced role strain by increased time for family responsibilities may, however, divert attention from occupational strains, such as the "hazards" of production work, that placed physical and psychological demands on these blue-collar workers. For example, sewing machine operators "met production" by completing the minimal number of garments for a company order; to make production bonuses, they pushed themselves to complete as many additional garments as was physically possible, given the constraints of their individual skill, dexterity, and speed. Women took pride in rapidly completed jobs as well as in the size of their bonuses, and some admitted that they never took breaks in order to maximize their performance. Others added to their individual work load by assisting slower workers in meeting production quotas. Furthermore, in retrospect, women frequently complained that in recent years the company's demands had increased, with production being set higher and garment fabric and styles

requiring more concentrated and meticulous labor. Consequently, the lower scores on the Stress Function for the unemployed group may also reflect some relief from the demands of production work and recent changes on the industry.

Summary

The three group analyses indicated that these groups were significantly different on six of seven functions. The job training group accounted for differences on the economics, demographic characteristics, and social support functions, while the unemployed group accounted for differences on stress and work functions. Somewhat surprisingly, there was no significant difference between groups on the psychological characteristics function, findings that differ from other research that indicates the unemployed are more likely to be depressed than the continuously employed (Perrucci, Perrucci, Targ, & Targ, 1985) or to experience an extended period of psychological distress (Hurst & Shepard, 1986). While the data are such that it is not possible to completely reject either of these possibilities, they also suggest that psychological characteristics are less important than other variables in describing employment status. These include demographic characteristics, economic circumstances, stress and work-related variables.

The six functions most effectively classified the job training group, suggesting that the group was more homogeneous on the functions. The exception was the stress function, on which the unemployed group was slightly more homogeneous. The employed group was classified less effectively than the other groups, except on the social support function, where it fell between the unemployed and job training groups.

Employment status group did a fairly good job of explaining this variance in four functions (economics, demographics, social support, and stress). In addition, although the small sample size limits the generalizability of

results, estimates of explained variance in the population held up for two of the functions, social support and stress. Results suggest, however, that idiosyncracies were present in the sample (e.g., rural or urban residence). Further research with a larger sample and baseline data could provide additional information that might clarify or strengthen some of these findings. Nevertheless, results do identify distinct differences between groups, variables that appear to account for these differences, and some of the complexities of job dislocation for women.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the present study was focused on job dislocation and subsequent labor force activity, the interconnected aspects of women's work and family life and meaning of unemployment in the context of these demands were revealed. The stress and poor health associated with production work and the strains of multiple roles as working women and caregivers were reflected in contrasting ways for unemployed and employed/job training women. Employed/job training women were confronted with these multiple demands, whereas unemployed women experienced some relief from role strain and production work pressures.

These findings have not been reported in previous research on male dislocated workers, who seldom face multiple demands of work and family responsibilities and whose identities may revolve around their work. The results presented here suggest that the demands of women's work, both domestic and public, may be related to their perceptions of dislocation and (given some comfortable degree of financial security) its long-term consequences.

As discussed in the introduction, the role transition model provided a conceptual framework for the transition to new employment status following dislocation. Study results suggested that different factors conditioned and were most salient to each group. For unemployed women the most salient

functions were stress and work. For the job training group the most salient functions were demographic characteristics, economics, and social support. For employed women the most salient function was health. In the language of the model, subsequent labor force activity was indeed conditioned by personal characteristics, household characteristics, and economic circumstances. In general, the life cycle and household context were important to the experience and perception of unemployment and assessment of future opportunities, particularly for job training enrollment. Further research that incorporates more detailed information about life span, household demographics, and economic circumstances of job loss would be particularly useful.

In addition, however, it was apparent from this research that the community context may have had a considerable but unmeasured influence on dislocated women's perception of their employment options. The job training group, for example, was drawn from an urban community with a greater diversity and number of jobs, which may have affected enrollees' optimism about the availability of future jobs. Furthermore, JTPA policies that emphasized job placement of newly trained workers may also have influenced both the selection of employable students and their anticipation of a successful job search. Reemployed rural women had typically found employment in less desirable and lucrative jobs which allowed them to remain in the community, a virtual necessity for those with family responsibilities. Unemployed rural women faced fewer job opportunities and fewer remaining years in the work force, thereby handicapping their employment prospects relative to younger workers.

Examination of the data and the role transition model suggests that ultimately the adjustment following job loss is conditioned by the local labor market context, including available employment opportunities and retraining options for dislocated workers in those communities. Thus, a revised model

would include both "macro" level processes associated with economic change as well as indicators of individual and family adjustment. These findings suggest, however, that the consequences of economic change and development may be unevenly distributed by gender and occupational structure, and that fundamental questions about employment opportunities for blue-collar women in rural communities remain. What are the employment prospects for semiskilled women who must work, but for whom the changing economic base in Southern rural communities makes finding any jobs in manufacturing difficult? In addition, what training efforts can best assist these women, given constraints of the local labor markets and time and money available for retraining? Additional theoretical and empirical work in these areas is needed.

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Figure 1.

Conceptual Framework for Job Loss as a Role Transition.

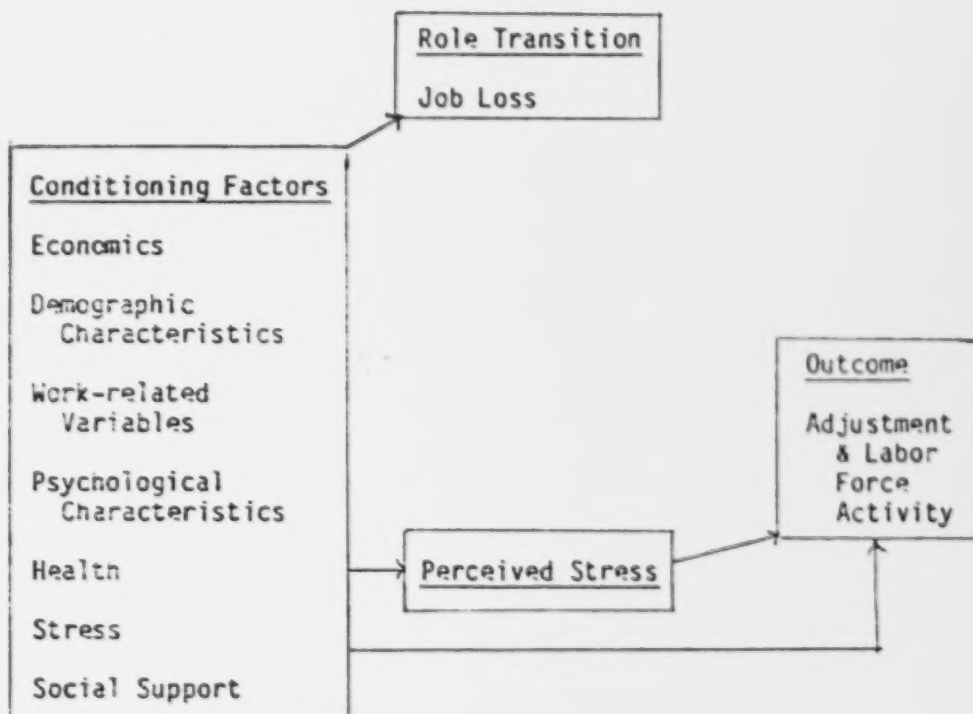


Table 1.

Summary of Sample Characteristics.

Characteristic	Total Sample N = 120 %	Employed N = 57 %	Unemployed N = 38 %	Job Training N = 25 %
Age				
<40	26	20	26	40
40-49	44	47	33	52
50-59	20	24	23	8
60	10	8	18	0
Race				
White	71	78	62	71
Black	29	22	38	29
Education				
Less than high school	22	33	18	--
High school grad, G.E.D.	63	46	71	92
Technical school or jr. college	14	21	8	8
College	1	--	3	--
Marital Status				
Married	74	68	74	88
Divorced, Separated				
Not married	15	20	10	8
Widowed	11	12	15	4
Number of Children at Home				
None	33	34	38	21
One	29	31	23	33
2-3	34	32	28	46
4-5	5	3	10	0
Of Those With Children, Age of Older Child at Home				
Young Adult (18+)	32	43	18	25
Teen (13-18)	24	15	32	33
Elementary (6-12)	8	5	8	17
Preschool (-6)	3	3	3	4

Table 1. cont.

Summary of Sample Characteristics.

Characteristic	Total Sample N = 120 %	Employed N = 57 %	Unemployed N = 38 %	Job Training N = 25 %
Income 1986				
Less than \$10,000	20	26	22	0
\$10,000-\$14,000	13	16	8	15
\$15,000-\$19,000	13	9	14	25
\$20,000-\$24,000	20	26	16	10
\$25,000 and over	34	24	41	50
Years Worked at Plant That Closed				
10 or less	7	7	5	8
11-15	19	19	18	20
16-20	46	47	41	48
21 or more	29	27	36	24
Socioeconomic Status				
Major or medium business and major and minor professionals	16	19	13	12
Skilled craftsmen, clerical and sales workers	40	32	37	64
Machine operators, semi- skilled workers	39	44	48	20
Unskilled laborers, menial workers	5	5	5	4

Figure 2.

Group Centroid Coefficients Plotted by Discriminant Function.

Discriminant Function	-100	-90	-80	-70	-60	-50	-40	-30	-20	-10	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
<u>Economics</u>			-.85 (2)											.30 (0)	.47 (1)						
<u>Demographic Characteristics</u>					-.68 (2)									.36 (0)	.38 (1)						
<u>Social Support</u>			-.84 (2)											.23 (0)		.53 (1)					
<u>Health</u>							-.39 (1)					.15 (0)	.25 (2)								
<u>Stress</u>					-.73 (0)							.16 (1)				.64 (2)					
<u>Work</u>							-.49 (0)						.21 (1)	.32 (2)							

Note: Figures in parentheses represent the group associated with the centroid coefficient, where 0 refers to the unemployed group, 1 refers to the employed group and 2 refers to the job training group.

Table 2.

Discriminant Analysis Results with Employment/Unemployment/Job Training as the Grouping Variable.

Variables Ordered as Selected for Entry, by Discriminant Function	Standardized LDF Coefficient	Significance of the Model
<u>Demographic Characteristics</u>		
Age	1.085	$W^2_{mult} = .221$
Number of Children	.496	$W^2_{corr} = .019$
Education	.414	Wilks' Lambda = .744
		Chi Square = 18.913
		$p < .004$
<u>Work Related</u>		
Value of Work	.518	$W^2_{mult} = .12$
Job Success	.597	$W^2_{corr} = .05$
Years at Plant	-.613	Wilks' Lambda = .848
		Chi Square = 12.442
		$p < .05$
<u>Economics</u>		
Financial Distress	.969	$W^2_{mult} = .309$
Income 1986	-1.223	$W^2_{corr} = .10$
Income Change	-.352	Wilks' Lambda = .675
Income 1985	.611	Chi Square = 29.427
Financial Cutbacks	.099	$p < .001$

Table 2. cont.

Discriminant Analysis Results with Employment/ Unemployment/Job Training
as the Grouping Variable.

Variables Ordered as Selected for Entry, by Discriminant Function	Standardized LDF Coefficient	Significance of the Model
<u>Stress</u>		
Family Problems	.729	$w^2_{mult} = .249$
Role Strain	.646	$w^2_{corr} = .186$
		Wilks' Lambda = .729
		Chi Square = 24.14
		$p < .0001$
<u>Social Support</u>		
Intimacy	-.983	$w^2_{mult} = .267$
Integration	-.491	$w^2_{corr} = .227$
Social Support	-.214	
		Wilks' Lambda = .711
		Chi Square = 25.82
		$p < .0002$
<u>Health</u>		
Health Change	1.000	$w^2_{mult} = .05$
		$w^2_{corr} = .001$
		Wilks' Lambda = .922
		Chi Square = 6.177
		$p < .04$

Table 3.

Percent of Grouped Cases Correctly Classified in the Three-Group
Discriminant Analysis, by Significant Discriminant Functions

Discriminant Function	Correct Group Classification			Overall %
	Unemployed %	Employed %	Job Training %	
Economics	53.6	51.9	76.0	60.0
Demographic Characteristics	46.2	34.5	76.0	51.2
Work	53.6	44.4	60.0	52.5
Social Support	39.3	51.9	64.0	51.2
Stress	64.3	33.0	60.0	52.5
Health	64.3	25.9	32.0	41.2